National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard,
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AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
31 *North Fifth St., Philadelphia.*

Pro-Slavery.

From the Weekly Platte Argus.

SUBSTANCE OF THE REMARKS MADE BY SENATOR ATCHISON,

On Monday, 6th November, 1854.

Gen. Atchison said that last summer one year ago he had the honour of addressing his fellow-citizens of Clay county upon the absorbing question of the organization of what was then called "the Nebraska territory," a central railroad to the Pacific Ocean, &c.

The position he then took was, that he would not advocate or vote for any bill to effect the organization of a government for that territory, unless the Missouri Compromise should be repealed. This position was taken by him in speeches made in Platte, Buchanan, Jackson and other counties; and for the reasons then expressed, it would be remembered, he was soundly abused by the whole Free Soil press of the State.

At the beginning of the last session of Congress, he consulted and advised with many gentlemen, both from the North and the South, upon the subject, and particularly with Judge Douglas, who had been, and whom he expected again to be, Chairman of the Committee on Territories. To that committee all territorial bills are referred, and by it all such bills are reported.

Douglas was of opinion that justice required the repeal of the law of 1820; that the principles of the territorial bills of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures of that year, required it; that the question of slavery, of right, belonged to the people of the territories who were to be affected by it, and to none others.

He was known to be in favour of non-intervention by Congress upon this subject, and regarded it as according to the true Democratic faith. For that bill General Atchison said he voted, and it was supported by the whole South, with but a few exceptions, and by a large portion of the Northern Democracy, and is now the law of the land.

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Nothing could be more false. Judge Douglas, he said, was not a man to suffer dictation from any quarter. That bill was dictated by his (Douglas's) own judgment, his own principles and his patriotism, carried through by his energy and eloquence, sustained by the South and the Democracy of the North. For this he has been denounced by the Abolition and Free Soil press of the whole Union. Now, for them, it is said, dare publish the bill, for the bill itself would answer their slanders and falsehoods. Not one of them, he presumed, had ever published one of Douglas's or any other speeches in advocacy of the bill; but he would venture to say that nine-tenths of the papers and demagogues who now denounce Douglas and the bill have been in the habit of denouncing him for the last ten years. He will survive it all, and come off, as heretofore, victorious.

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To sustain such men in the North, is to sustain the Constitution and the Union. The "*supporters of sectional agitation fake*" are all in favour of his them. In the city of Chicago, the play of his (Douglas's) residence, they refused to hear him. Men who are for the repeal of a repeal of the Fugitive Slave law? Men who are for the dissolution of any slave State rather than that they declare for the abolition of it is to abolish the District of Columbia, and whose *ites*, are the men who slave holder between them Douglas. These are band together to gag in a section of the country the men who have action of the press, for four of Missouri, and the not daily, had teemed with for the purpose of vile slanders of himself, their abuse, falsehoods filled by their malice. All of falsehood only with patience and without reply. This he had answering their *lies* would be as The words is more filthy, than the labour of toilsome washing the garments of the dirty. Hercules. on this subject he said he had dwelt But enough deserved. He would now pass to longer a settlement of Kansas—its destiny, and what it was to have upon the State of Missouri.

The organic law of the territory vests in the people to reside in it the power to form all their institutions. They can establish or prohibit slavery; and this is the only question that directly affects our interests.

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The North is to be turned to the South, and all the territories of the United States to be Abolitionized; colonies are to be planted in all places where slave institutions can best be assailed; and Kansas is now a favourite position from whence they can assail Missouri, Arkansas and Texas. We are informed that Massachusetts and elsewhere, for the avowed purpose of excluding slaveholders from Kansas, and, as a matter of course, to seduce, steal and protect fugitives slaves. The first thing, however, they have to do is to throw into Kansas a majority of votes to control the ballot-boxes.

This is the policy of the Abolitionists. These means are used by them. Their money and all other influences they can bring to bear are to be exerted for this purpose.

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Said he, if you burn my barn, I sustain a great loss, but you gain nothing. So it is with the Colonization Societies and the dupes they send here to Abolitionize Kansas.

If these Abolitionists steal all your negroes, they gain nothing; the negroes are injured, you are ruined—so much greater is the motive for activity on your part.

Fellow-citizens, we should not be apathetic when so much is involved. We should be up and doing. He was for meeting organization with organization. He was for meeting those philanthropic knaves *peaceably* at the ballot-box and out-voting them.

If we cannot do this, it is an omen that the institution of slavery is to fall in this and the other southern States; but it would fall after much strife, civil war and bloodshed.

If Abolitionists, under the present auspices, is established in Kansas, there will be constant strife and bloodshed between Kansas and Missouri. Negro-stealing will be a principle and a vocation. *It will be the signal for bushwhacking, and until they force the slaveholder to abandon Missouri—nor will it be long until it is done.* You cannot watch your stables to prevent thieves from stealing your horses and mules; neither can you watch your negro quarters to prevent your neighbours from seducing away and stealing your negroes.

If Kansas is Abolitionized, all men who love peace and quiet will leave it, as did many emigrating to Missouri from the slave States will cease. We will go either to the North or to the South. *For himself, he could gather together his goods and depart in one hour after enemy was in sight. He had neither wife nor child to impede his flight.* In a hybrid state we cannot live; we cannot be in a constant quarrel—in a constant state of suspicion of our neighbours. The feeling is entertained by a large portion of mankind everywhere.

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Selections.

From The National Era.

THE NEW PARTY AND SLAVERY.

As the Know-Nothings now constitute a distinct, manifest and powerful political organization aspiring to the control of the Federal Government, the question of Slavery becomes of vast importance. The Question of Slavery becomes of vast importance. The question of slavery in each section have a right to know what their position and purposes are on this vital question.

We said last week, that the people of Kentucky had acted so far with little reference to it; but that they must take a decided position as they advance to the Presidential election. We repeat it. Every opposer to obligation to a National Government, they must decide upon the question, either for or against it—Constitution maintained by slaveholders, or by their opponents; for the Fugitive Slave Act, the Compromise measures of 1850, and slavery propagandism that is seeking to grasp Dominica, Cuba and California, and so much of Mexico as it can assimilate, or against them.

It is manifest that the anti-slavery men, many even of those who have hitherto acted with the Free Democracy, have joined the new party, while others of the same classes look with favour upon it. We quoted a voice of one, not since, an extract from an editorial in the *Portage County (O.) Democrat*, hitherto a Free Democratic paper, justifying its policy. Other papers of the same class, East and West, by their non-committalism, indicate a leaning towards the Union party. Indiana, at a State celebration, on the 1st instant, by the Republicans, of their recent victory, unmistakable indications were furnished of their sympathy with the mysterious Order. The results in three hundred and eight towns of the State (all except twenty-one) are remarkable:

	1852.
Whig candidates	52,683
Democratic candidates	45,875
Free Soil candidates	28,926
Scatter tickets	1,070
Native American ticket	165
	128,416

	1854.
Gardner, Know-Nothing	78,843
Washburn, Whig	26,138
Bishop, Democrat	13,196
Wood, Democrat	5,561
Wales, Old Line Democrat	313
All others	747
	125,751

Whig loss	26,548
Administration loss	32,681
Free Democratic loss	2,926
	60,734

It will be seen that the Know-Nothing vote has gained nearly all that the other three parties have lost. The Whig Party loses one half, the Administration Party two-thirds, the Free Democratic three-fourths of its numbers.

The facts we have presented show clearly enough that Free Soilers, Free Democrats, Republicans, call them what you will, are extensively committed to the new organization. Now, it is not for us to charge them with apostacy from Anti-Slavery principles, with disloyalty to the cause they have so long maintained, with any dishonest purpose whatsoever. Mr. Wilson, the candidate of the late Republican Party in Massachusetts, in his letter declining the nomination (which was not accepted), declared that he had "assumed no obligations inconsistent with the strictest fidelity to the pledges" he had publicly given; and he added:

"I wish, also, to say that I belong to no organization where I have been required to modify or qualify in any degree my anti-slavery sentiments or to repress their utterance. For more than eighteen years, on all fit occasions, I have fearlessly uttered my anti-slavery sentiments in the face of friends and of enemies, and I shall continue to do so while I live."

Other Know-Nothings, like Mr. Wilson, will doubtless hold the same language, asserting that they are not required by their organization to modify or qualify in any degree their anti-slavery sentiments. In fact, it would seem that a majority of the Congressmen elected by the new party in Massachusetts are or have been* Free Soilers, Free-called. Banner, Cushing, Burlingame, Banks, Knapp, De Witt and Trafton, seven out of the eleven elect, are so reported. And Mr. Gardner, the candidate for the Governorship, deemed it proper, in reply to the charge made against him by Judge Allen, to place himself openly on anti-slavery ground before the election:

"It is not true," he wrote, "that I am or have ever been in favour of the Anti-Nebraska Bill. I never voted for a man who favoured it, knowing such to be his views, and I must very much change before I ever do. I never, by word, act, or vote, favoured its repeal. I am an avowed advocate of its essential modification, or, in lieu thereof, its unconditional repeal. Returning from Canada, last autumn, on reaching Boston, there was a petition for its repeal at the Exchange news room, and on my arrival, before even going to my place of business, I hastened to the Exchange and signed the petition.

"To the general assertion that my 'life is covered all over with the badges of the slaveholder,' I can only interpose a general denial. You have been very much misled in your estimate of my character. Were it not a little egotistical, I could say, here is a man ready to fight for the rights of the North, and my determinations are as steadfast to oppose the aggressions of the South, as is yours or your informant's. But I am not content with a general denial. I ask that the particulars be given—point to the place, the time and the act—name the witness, the evidence, and decide, whereon this charge is based. And if those on whose authority you make it cannot furnish them, I ask you, in common fairness, to recall this insinuation, or charge, as unjust.

"To the charge of being a 'pro-slavery man' and an 'old hunker,' I state a single fact. I was elected by the Whig Party, a member of the State Central Committee of that party, but, several vacancies having occurred, I was verbally invited by its secretary to resign my seat. I did so soon after the passage of the Nebraska bill. I was present and offered a resolution, which I submitted in full to the Whig State Central Committee, organization would call a Convention of the opponents of the Nebraska bill, without distinction of party, to nominate State candidates for State officers, as was done in Ohio, Vermont, Michigan and other States. This resolution was, however, lost, and its defeat was one of a series of events which induced me in the political position I this day occupy.

"I headed the petition for the use of Faneuil Hall for the Anti-Nebraska Meeting in Feb., last. I procured the officers and speakers. I called the meeting to order, and made the opening speech. (Reports of the New York and Record by me) was one of its Vice-Presidents. The petition is in the city archives, the other facts in the journals of the day; and yet I am now charged with being a Nebraska man!

Certainly, it would seem from the reply of Judge Allen, and the documentary testimony furnished in his letter, that Mr. Gardner had forgotten some unanswerable facts which have undermined the Judge in his material allegation, but this does not concern us now. It is sufficient to know that he placed himself publicly on Anti-Nebraska ground, while the Know-Nothing candidate for the Governorship, and is now bound by his recorded declarations.

But, the peculiar policy of the Know-Nothings cannot be carried out except through the machinery of the Federal Government. Naturalization laws cannot be repealed or modified but by Congress. Foreign-born citizens cannot be left out of the numerous offices under the Federal Government but by the exercise of the patronage and power of the President. All that the Know-Nothings have done in the States is merely preliminary. They claim to be a National party, and their chief concern is with the Presidency, as manifest in their several States, in State affairs, and under the oath of secrecy, it is easy enough to manage in reference to the Slavery Question. All they have to do is to avoid the question, which means opinion; and the absence of any "platform" on the subject of slavery, facilitates this accommodating policy. In one section, their action is Mr. Slavery; in another, Slavery is omitted, simply Anti-Administration, or Nor

Let us recapitulate: [illegible] can from Mr. Benton, the [illegible] Democratic doctrines of [illegible] courts, who circulate and compare [illegible] Mr. Jefferson, repeal of the Missouri Compromise, &c., &c., to the defeat of the Democratic party in 1850, whose labours had been rendered [illegible] by the Democratic party in 1850, whose labours had been rendered *nought* by the Democratic party in 1850, whose labours had been rendered *nought* by the Democratic party in 1850, whose labours had been rendered *nought*

produced no effect. They were like the claws of a cat when hidden beneath the velvet of her foot. He sought to bring out the anti-slavery sentiment of the country into action and make it show its claws: aye, and use them too. Until this should be done, no effectual check could be interposed against the startling advances of the slave power.

Mr. Phillips said that the North had tried all the various modes of opposition to the slaveholders without success. The reason was plain. One hundred and fifty thousand aristocrats held property in slaves to the amount of $2,000,000,000. They were men of leisure and intelligence, and, having control of the Government with $70,000,000 to expend per annum, and which was so bestowed as to counteract every effort of anti-slavery, it was plain that no ordinary means would avail. But if we could enlist the religious sentiment of the country, we might still prevail. That sentiment stood out against the Papal power, against tyranny of every description in England, and at last brought revolution. It will do the same thing here.

But it was said that the pulpit was against us; that the religion on which we had a right to depend to forward so good a work was stolid or asleep. To this he replied that the church must be converted. The pulpit, under the voluntary system, was the mouth-piece of the pews: the pews employed the minister, and the minister gradnated his teachings to the degree of the pews. We must, therefore, bring an outside pressure to bear on the church; we must get the pews right and we shall have no trouble with the pulpit. The same thing was true of the politician. He was the creature of his constituents; but he had found that he could sell himself out to the South and still retain his standing at the North. We must teach him that this can no longer be done.

When Mat. Ward was acquitted by a corrupt jury for the murder of a Yankee schoolmaster, he was held, nevertheless, to be a murderer; was scoffed at in Kentucky, in Ohio, and wherever he appeared, till he was obliged to seek refuge in a foreign country. In the same way John Quincy Adams, when he left the old Federal party in 1808 and went over to the Jeffersonian administration, was spewed out by the people of Massachusetts for several years on account of the bribe in the hand. If we would make the war waged on slavery successful, we must have a public opinion equally faithful and effective. We must teach the ministers of slavery that they are trampling on the religious feelings of the people, and that, when they betray their constituents, they must expect to meet an indignant public sentiment as hot as Milton represented the pavement of Hell.—*Evening Chronicle.*

AN IMPORTANT PUBLICATION.

A South Side View of Prostitution; or, Three Months in the Brothels of Boston, in 1854. By Rev Nehemiah Eves D.D. pp. 214, 12mo. Stereotyped and published by Theophilus M. Raven, Boston.

Ten families have had their way upon this subject long enough; and we are happy to present to our readers the following abstract of a truly conservative view of it, promising only that, however suspicious the title of this book may seem, to those who are seeking to subject all our institutions to the destructive process of what they call *reform*, its contents will be found entirely congruous with the well-known piety and "eminent gravity" of either the author or the publisher.

Dr. Eves (for many years has been a popular orthodox preacher of the Sexes Street Church in Boston), being called, by sufficient reasons, to spend three months in the society of "fashionable life" (and the hospitality) of the brothel-keepers of that city, felt moved to write a statement of his impressions respecting those people and their "young ladies," which should not only remove or diminish the "ill-fame" which has somehow fastened itself upon them, but which should relieve the minds of those good people who are distressed about the prevalence of prostitution.

Having been misled by the publications of "Moral Reform" Societies, and especially by the writings of Mrs. Harriet Beachmore, Dr. Eves anticipated a severe shock to his sensibilities in this visit. He expected to see the apartments filthy, ragged, vulgar and dirty; but of one thing he felt sure, namely, that the whole of them would be openly and grossly lewd: and he supposed himself to have "at least the average amount of information and ignorance with regard to the subject." Imagine, then, his surprise and gratification at the following extracts from his journal, at his earliest opportunities of observation of these people:

"As two of them noticed my interested looks at them, one whispered covertly to the other, and both smiled with a kindly look; they were all in good humour, and some of them in high spirits; but they were not so wretched as I expected; they were superior in genteel appearance to workpeople of any other class in our cities; a better-looking, happier, more courteous set of people Speaking of unpleasant things, . . . are decent and refined; it conflicted with my notions of prostitution that I could not have dressed in another manner—Are they prostitutes? Certainly, said the friend at my side; they each belong to some house of ill-fame."

It was evident to Dr. Eves that he had been greatly misled by preconceived opinions in relation to this class of people, yet he promptly remembered that these might be unusually favourable specimens, and kept his eyes open for further observation. But this, which was the source of the causes of pleasant astonishment. He found special "good order" in the streets where the fashionable brothels were kept, and, without the window blinds closed the blinds, and otherwise cared for the external quietness and respectability of those houses.

He found that there was not so much time exacted for the duties of their peculiar occupation as many suppose; that a strong public feeling among the frequenters of those places protects the persons of their inmates against annoyance and injuries; that one man cannot with impunity abuse another man's favourite; and that the disposition to avenge such wrongs is common in many cases to a chivalric feeling." He tells us that, by the employment of extra constables and policemen in their haunts, the whole class of our population are "in a condition much favourable to preservation from crimes against society"; that girls who are indisposed to work of other kinds are saved by this system from "pauperizing," and that many quietly pursue their regular occupation here, who would otherwise be a charge upon the public in the "house of correction."

On the point of "Religious Instruction," the results of Dr. Eve's inquiries were eminently gratifying (or, though in some true (to a certain extent) that the brothel-keepers did not like to have Bibles lying about indiscriminately in the rooms, and did not teach the girls to read, and excluded next-distributors and others who wished to teach them "from motives of interference," they read the Bible to them themselves, selecting the appropriate patriarchal and other portions in the Old Testament, and the comforting declaration, "Neither do I condemn thee," in the New, and making comments suitable to the occasion and their stage of moral development. Moreover, it was found that the percentage of church-members among the girls in some of those houses was actually greater than that of either the keepers who managed or of the patrons who supported them.

The Doctor does ultimately find, however, some "revolting features" of prostitution. But, with that charity which hopeth over all things objectionable (in the system which, on the whole, he chooses to defend), he tries hard to conquer his prejudices, suggest exculpatory circumstances, even in the chapters headed "Revolting Features," sympathizes with the brothel-keepers as he enumerates the evils which "they themselves deplore," assures over the difficulty they meet in giving a proper education to their own children, and gives this gentle rebuke to the opponents of the system: "Sometimes the demand seems to be that illicit connections should be prevented at all events, and prostitution never be permitted. This is absurd, upon the least reflection. Let us not require too much in this matter. We must not be prejudiced by our associations with the word seduction. Let us not insist that female virtue shall never be sacrificed. This would be a most disastrous event to the whole sex; they would be debased without measure, if this idea were acted on."

Of course, a clergyman does not leave such a subject without bringing the instructions of Scripture to bear upon it. He lives finds prostitution *regulated* in both the Old and New Testaments, and not forbidden in either. He quotes numerous passages, and concludes that, whatever may, at the first glance, look like prohibition of it, refers to the abuses, and not to the relation itself.

Coming, finally, to the inquiry what (if anything) is to be done in relation to this matter, he, those who are now entirely unconnected with it, he answers, distinctly and decidedly, Nothing. He informs us that brothel-keepers are the natural and proper protectors of prostitutes (after having been long familiar with their habits and characters, *they* know best what should be done for them, and will of course do it, if not interferred with; that their earnest desire and prayer, in relation to this whole business, is "to be let alone"; and he feels entire confidence that, if this moderate request be granted, they will do all that is necessary in the premises; that is, prune off the abuses, and preserve the beneficent and scriptural *relation*. On the important subject of religious instruction, he feels confident that they are the best judges of what truth is needed, and what can be borne, by their inmates (doubtless, milk rather than strong meat, and in most cases, probably skimmed milk); he found many of the girls fond of singing, and possessing most sweet and melodious voices; true, he did not happen to hear among them any of the songs of *Zion*; but so liberal were the ideas of their keepers, that he feels no doubt permission might be obtained for some reliable person to attend and teach these, during the intervals of their occupation; and any minister in whom the keepers could feel confidence would be given religious instruction there, part of every Sabbath.

Formerly, Dr. Eves tells us, the keepers and patrons of these establishments were in terror of the system as to have commenced, of their own accord, a course of measures for its removal. Tired already of the expense and trouble of keeping large bribes quiet, and of the constant annoyance trouble were constantly required to catch them when they ran away, and the parties above mentioned were just on the point of forcibly to throw up the system altogether, when, hearing that some of their fellgbours perfectly and entirely in their opinion, and the humane arts; nor did it occur to the pupils of the Academy that the world could do its work except by the use of slaves. But here, labour is dignified and ennobled, as it deserves, and has a claim to the first consideration in freedom, knows how to command the powers of nature by rendering filial obedience to her laws; his device of success in his occupation, whether in the shipyard or the ironworks, or wherever else he is found, compels him to be the diligent and honest investigator of truth; at his daily toil he stands face to face with the laws of creation; so that it may be said of him that, like Enoch, 'he walks with God.'

"The fifty years which we celebrate have taken mighty strides towards the abolition of servitude. Prussia, in the midst of sufferings and its greatest calamities, renovated its existence, partly by the establishment of schools, and partly by changing its serfs into a proprietary peasantry. In Hungary, the attempt towards preserving the nationality of the Magyars met with failure, but the last vestiges of bondage have been effaced, and the holders of the plough have become the owners of themselves and its soil."

It is not a little odd that while thus mindful of Prussia and the Magyars, *the American historian* should not have a single word of commendation for the abolition of slavery in New York, New Jersey, &c. Nor is this all. Mr. Bancroft is making to abolish it throughout the United States? Read on and you will see why.

The above paragraph is thrown out to those of anti-slavery inclinations. Further along, the slaveholders come in for their share.

"The good time is coming when the spirit of humanity will recognise all members of its family as more nearly equal to its own, than the heartless jargon of over-production in the midst of want will end in a better science of distribution; when man will dwell with man as with his brother; when justice to all nations will rest on the basis of equality and freedom.

"*But this result must come from the development of internal life by universal culture; it cannot be created by the energy of either philanthropy, and still less by the reckless violence of men, whose desperate audacity would employ terror as a means to ride on the whirlwind of civil war.*"

This is very characteristic of Mr. Bancroft, who always seems to agree with and to differ from every sect, party and opinion, except when the adherents of it are too few or too unpopular to make it worth while to court their favour. Whether in politics, philosophy or religion, Mr. Bancroft is indeed a true, thorough and consistent disciple of the Vicar of Bray school.—*Boston Telegraph.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DEC. 9, 1854.

BORN TOO LATE.

Some men are born into the world an age or two too soon, some men a generation or more too late. Either circumstance is a great calamity to all concerned. Thoughtfully considered, the real misfortune of Napoleon's life seems to have been that it occurred in the nineteenth instead of the ninth century. The career of military conquest and glory which his ambition proposed required an immense consumption of human lives, directly and principally of Frenchmen, but incidentally, too, of Austrians and Russians. Now, in the ninth century these Frenchmen, Austrians and Russians would have been of no account at all. It would have been their business to be killed in any numbers, if the exigencies of kingcraft and the balance of power required it. But in the nineteenth century all these men, so many husbands, fathers and sons, have, themselves and their relatives, a very distinct idea of their consequence; besides, they are, or might be, all more or less skilful farmers, weavers, miners, mechanics, and in these capacities are of some value to society. Then, too, many of them have some knowledge of government and human rights, can actually read newspapers and military bulletins, and have their own private purposes and ambitions to live for. It is clear enough that there must be to such folk a thousand inconveniences in the way of being taken out upon Borodino, or Wagram or Waterloo fields, and being shot dead—that they would rather not. So, at last, it being so late in the world, they did get tired of their part of the programme. It became a bore to them, and no more than three million Europeans were chivalric and loyal enough to be butchered for the private ends of Napoleon and other rulers. So the whole Napoleonic game came to an end prematurely for want of men, and for five years the Emperor, Bertrand, Montholon and Las Casas, discuss at Longwood the causes of the disaster, without guessing that the whole thing was behind the times, and should have been tried a century or two before.

In our times, on a very much smaller scale, Gen. Cass is one of those dilatory persons overtaken and swamped by the inrushing tide of time. Like the Mr. Tucker mentioned in the popular song, he is too late when supper is ready. He is the man left standing, hot and anxious, with his carpet-bag, upon the margin of the wharf, while the steamboat has just cast off, and is beyond the most venturesome leap. He is behindhand in his private enterprises, behindhand in his ideas. For twenty years, he has been trying to be President; so admitting, of course, to all the misadventures and delays which that crooked path of ambition is necessarily subject to; and now he might possibly be the next nominee of the Baltimore Convention, when, alas! interposes the Psalmist's invidious limit of three score and ten, and puts him upon other thoughts and other preparations. But the ideas of the "Great Michigander" are more out of date than his aspirations. Unfortunately for him, and all like him, he has survived the period when the Sphinx of Anti-Slavery appeared upon the arena of American politics to propound her terrible riddle of national destiny, and expose the delusions of a mere verbal and pretended democracy. "Why," no doubt he gloomily inquires, "why could not this imposture have lasted out my day? Accursed be the impious cycle that detected and exposed it."

Surely, it well behooves all who house themselves in delusions, and clothe themselves with shams, to lay in what stock of "*praise and pudding*" they can, while those treacherous materials hold together. Gen. Cass has devoted his life to the business of fomenting and intensifying party animosities, destitute of all philosophic basis in principle, to the work of limiting the whole range of popular thought and political effort to the narrow cant of a school of demagogues, to whom, as he confesses they are to himself, "*words are things.*" More than any other man he has sought to divert the attention of the nation from the serious questions involving all the higher ideas of government, by digging up effete national prejudices, and by rekindling the rancour of forgotten wars. He has tried to confirm us in our national pride, our love of violence and our dishonest acquisitiveness. He has never had a true statesman's perception of our dangers. In his day, and under his eyes, a bold, unscrupulous and cruel oligarchy has insidiously invaded the government, and, by its far-reaching terrorism, made it, and, through it, the people, an accomplice and instrument of carrying on the most stupendous conspiracies against liberty and the rights of man. The Annexation of Texas, the Dismemberment of Mexico, the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, were all measures forced upon the country by the united Slave Power, for the sole purpose of extending and continuing the damnable practice of slaveholding, and Gen. Cass was sufficiently in the confidence of the plotters of these measures to have the solicitude of patriots, the universal fear of all just men, in reference to these measures, he affects to regard as an irrelevant fanaticism. Lost in the excitement of the jaggle of *democracy*, with which he has been trying, for twenty years, to dupe votes from the people, he feigns or forgets that there are any questions before the nation other than those which were agitated when Mr. Jefferson was first made President. Though, in a half a century, not only the standard of taste and literature, and the usages of social life, have changed and changed again, but even the absolute principles of religion have become so far modified that the Presbyterianism of 1850 is different from the Presbyterianism of 1800, yet such men as Gen. Cass would have us believe that questions of politics, from their very nature most fluctuating and evanescent, are precisely the same as those which divided parties in 1798. So he has continued to mouth the old cant of "Popular Rights," "State Sovereignty," "Strict Construction of the Constitution," until, in the changes of time, the phrases have come to be the property of one party, and the things signified have slipped away to the other.

While one Northern State after another is pouring in its emphatic condemnation of the Nebraska outrage, while the very slaveholding States are beginning to agree with and to differ from every sect, party and opinion, except when the adherents of it are too few or too unpopular to make it worth while to court their favour. Whether in politics, philosophy or religion, Mr. Bancroft is indeed a true, thorough and consistent disciple of the Vicar of Bray school.—*Boston Telegraph.*

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Rev. T. W. Higginson and Martin Stowell, of Worcester, have been accorded the honour of an indictment in the United States District Court, at Boston, upon the charge of attempting the rescue of Anthony Burns. We should like to ask our whilom friend Hallett if he is going to permit Wendell Phillips to go uncathed? If so, we fear that incendiary gentleman will consider himself slighted.

NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings delivered the Second Lecture of the New York Anti-Slavery Society's Course, at the Tabernacle, on Tuesday evening. The venerable speaker was enthusiastically welcomed by a large and intelligent assembly, most of whom saw and heard Jim on this occasion for the first time. The Secretary of the Society, in introducing him, said: "We read that an ancient worthy lighted his lamp and went in diligent, anxious quest of an honest man. In like manner have the friends of freedom explored the country to find that *rara avis*, a Northern politician with a backbone. I am happyto say that their search has been rewarded with success, and that the very man for whom they have long and so anxiously sought is now in our mist. Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to announce to you the Hon. Joshua R. Gidding of Ohio." As the venerable and imposing form of Mr. G. became visible to the audience, there arose forth a tempest of applause, which showed how fearful was the appreciation of his charster and services. After an unaffected acknowlegement of the kindness of his reception, he announced as the subject of his discourse, *The Trial at Triumph of John Quincy Adams, in the United State House of Representatives, in* 1842. The occasion of the arraignment of the "old man eloquent," it will be remembered, was the presentation of a pition for the peaceable dissolution of the Union. Mr. Giddings gave a minute and deeply interesting sketch of the exciting scenes attending the trial, of which he was an eye-witness. He decided the overbearing insolence of the slaveholders and the truckling subservicency of the doughfaces, and showed the steps by which Mr. Adams proceeded through his masterly and triumpant defence, turning the tables upon his foes and utterly defeating and routing them.

We hope Mr. Gidding may be induced to write out a complete and authentic history of the scenes in the Hall of Representatives. It will set this *Ball* a rolling on its pious errand. If it did not prove the stone of Sisyphus before it had reached the end of its course, we have no skill in prophesy —not we."

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK.

Messrs. Editors: I have read with interest the letters on this subject in your valuable paper, and beg leave to offer a few suggestions on the matter. While we refrain from invading any man's right of conscience in this matter, it may be well to interchange our views on the question, *What is that observance of the day which meets the Divine approval?* For the determination of such a question, several of the letters, very properly, in my opinion, appeal to the Gospel of Christianity, and to the cause of Jesus Christ on earth.

Although the inspired writers never apply the term *Sabbath* (which signifies *rest*, not *worship*) to the first day of the week, yet it is very apparent, from the following synopsis of Christian worship, that the first day was the day appointed for such duty was "the first day of the week (Heb. 10: 25; Acts 2: 42; 1st Cor., 14 chap.: 11, 2; Acts 20: 7). It is also evident that the Christians observed this day especially for worship, and assembled for the purpose of hearing the glorious Gospel of Christ, in its opposite to light, or sin and God as darkness in the world, and for the purpose of making it known practicleuse, if I should meet on the first day of the week, unable dying an anti-slavery lecture, I should consider to hear lletion of my duty. The duties connected the first day of the week, according to the Scriptures quoted, are enjoined on *all* Christians, unless circumstances render an observance of them impracticable.

The Gospel of the Son of God (the preaching of which is the daily duty of every Christian, according to his ability) presents a wide field to labour in the battle-array of truth and love against American slavery and all its infernal concomitants. If any man, professing to preach this Gospel, does not plainly and pointedly lift up his voice like a trumpet against this abomination, he is in unfaithful to his trust; nor will all the plausible excuses of expediency shield him from the displeasure of Him who hateth oppression.

A very important question, however, remains to be seriously considered. Is anti-slavery truth the most important truth which can be presented to the minds of dying and accountable men? Does the reception of it secure man's highest and most durable interests or well being? Mark, the question is not, whether or not Christianity necessarily involves anti-slavery, but whether or not anti-slavery necessarily involves Christianity? A dollar includes a cent, but a cent does not include a dollar. The cause of Jesus Christ on earth is necessarily the cause of liberty, on the principle that it is opposed to all unrighteousness. "The Son of God was manifested" for the high "purpose" of destroying "the works of the Devil." If slavery is not one of these works, in vain do we search to find any. But the cause of Jesus Christ on earth rises higher than this, as the heavens rise higher than the earth. Its glorious and comprehensive purpose is the emancipation of man from the dominion of all and every sin; and from the everlasting death to which all men, regard it as they may, are by nature and practice condemned. Its blessed object is to assimilate him to his Father in Heaven, preparatory to holy and happy communion with him in the revolving ages of eternity.

It is not to be denied, indeed, that American slavery wears an odious aspect, in respect to its bearings on the spiritual and eternal interests of dying and accountable men. It degrades the mind and the moral sense, and seals its murky clouds between the soul and the light imparted by gracious heaven to guide to eternal day. Yet, that celestial light can and does penetrate the dark cloud. Blessed be God, the gates of Paradise shall open to many Uncle Toms and redeemed Topsies, renovated by Omnipotent Love.

We should rejoice in every conversion to anti-slavery; but the anti-slavery lecturer should remember that conversions are not to be effected by pistols, bowie-knives and pocket-compasses. According to his own account, in September last when this portion of the diary was written, he was pursuing this laudable occupation in the State of North Carolina, and records some of his experiences while there. Some of them are very suggestive, and may not prove uninteresting to the Southern reader. We have not the space at present to give them in full, but will endeavour to embody one of them in a condensed shape.

He says he was taking a walk in the woods, and suddenly came upon the regular road. A coloured man, driving a horse and wagon, was approaching. I accosted him, says Mr. Ball, and got into the wagon, and began to talk about slavery.

"He said that he would run the risk of capture if he had a compass or had a friend to direct him to the North. Ignorance of the way, he said, was the chief obstacle in preventing the slaves in this district from escaping to the North. Dozens were ready to fly.

"Soon after, meeting with a slave driving a wagon, he accosted him and had a long conversation with him, a portion of which we give in the slaveholder's own words:

The *Pioneer* here copies an account of one of the reported conversations of Ball with a slave, on the subject of running away in general, and the use of a pocket-compass in particular—we wonder, by the bye, our correspondent has not, in the absence of compasses, taught his friends the position of the Polar Star—which we need not repeat, and the paper then proceeds:

"The writer goes on to say that if he had a good stock of pocket-compasses and revolving pistols, he would not leave the State until he had piloted at least three hundred slaves. Already, he says, he has spoken to great numbers of them —negroes and mulattoes—resolute and bold men, who are ready to fly, if they but knew the route. He had this day met a dozen fleeing slaves from pursuit; and, he adds, that if he could for one year command the resources of the Anti-Slavery Society, he could effect the entire and complete emancipation society that the world ever saw.

"This enterprising gentleman then proceeds to counsel the Northern Abolitionists to agitate by circulating tracts, papers, lectures, and personal appeals; by forming a secret society to operate within the slave States, especially in the work of first tempting, and then assisting slaves to run away. He would have, he says, in every free border town and village an underground railroad in active operation. He would have a small band of bold, but cautious men, to travel in the most Northern slave States, for the purpose of securing the co-operation of the coloured population in assisting fugitives; of dissembling discontent among the slaves themselves, and providing the most energetic of them who wish to escape with pocket-compasses, pistols, and directions. Such agents must be consummate men of the world—'wise as serpents,' though formidable as lions.

"Ten or twelve such apostles, Mr. Ball thinks, in one year, could induce six or seven thousand slaves to fly to the North; and if they were properly equipped, at least five thousand would escape forever.

"There are many ways, adds the writer of this precious diary, of enabling fugitive slaves to escape rapidly, and by a direct route, for the Free States, which these agents could employ; but which, of course, must be kept a secret from all slaveholders; and so confident is he of the practicability of this plan, that he offers to carry it into effect in the spring of 1855, if the Anti-Slavery Society, or any wealthy Abolitionist, will provide him with stock. 'I will give,' says he, 'all that I can get—as also will my friends—for *one year, one time, for three months.* I am certain that at least seven-eighths of the pistols, compasses and dollars, I gave the slaves, would be surrendered to our agents in the free cities of the North.'

"This is the way Mr. Ball would operate. Perhaps the American Anti-Slavery Society had better accede to his patriotic proposition, and set this *Ball* a rolling on its pious errand. If it did not prove the stone of Sisyphus before it had reached the end of its course, we have no skill in prophesy —not we."

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"He said that he would run the risk of capture if he had a compass or had a friend to direct him to the North. Ignorance of the way, he said, was the chief obstacle in preventing the slaves in this district from escaping to the North. Dozens were ready to fly.

"Soon after, meeting with a slave driving a wagon, he accosted him and had a long conversation with him, a portion of which we give in the slaveholder's own words:

"'I tax not you, ye elements, with unkindness,
You owe me no subscription; why then let fall
Your horrible pleasure; here I stand, your slave,
A poor, infirm, weak and despis'd old man.'

It is the ungrateful South, whom he had stripped himself to serve, who has just been paying him a small instalment of the same characteristic ingratitude that broke Webster's heart, in 1852. Truly, the encouragement to *half-and-half* men and *trimmers* is but small in these days, but it is hard for poor Gen. Cass, defending slaveholding aggressions upon the only grounds that could be defended upon at the North, to receive this fatal stab. Cannot those turbulent overseers keep in their choleric temper from very policy? How can the North be deceived and governed but by the influence of its great men? How can great men be manufactured if they are not allowed to hold office? How can they hold office if they are not elected? How can they get elected unless they can accumulate their opinions to the whim man understand that the knot of doughfaces in the Senate, the very body-guard of American slavery, have, once in six years, to submit to the formality of an election; that even so great a statesman as Gen. Cass has no *ex officio* perpetuity of his place, but must yield to the same degradation, with a Phelps or a Pettit; or does the overbearing editor believe that the approbation of the South is ample credential to a seat in the Senate? When the Michigan Senate got elected before, he had just published a letter expressing his regret at the defeat of the Wilmot Proviso, and his determination to have voted for it. In these piping anti-Nebraska times, it was certainly the extreme of illiberality not to permit the old gentleman to humbug to his heart's content with his patent plan of excluding slavery from Nebraska by "*squatter sovereignty.*"

Gen. Cass resents the interference, but not sarcastically or bitterly. He saves all his spent sarcasm for the Abolitionists and "*strong-minded women,*" whose only fault is that they agree with him that "slavery is a great evil, social and political evil." To his old confederates and patrons of the South he is indignant indeed, but still deferential and respectful. He thinks he is treated unkindly, ungratefully; he is sorry he has been misunderstood, but bows meekly to the unmerited censure. With a magnanimity almost Christian, he goes to work, in the face of Southern rebuke and Northern contempt, caught up and echoed now by the voices of a million free voters, to reconstruct his chimerical contrivance of *squatter sovereignty. Sotto voce* he had told his constituents that the Nebraska bill was a measure effectually to keep slavery out of the Territories. The Michigan election shows how well they believed him. The united sagacity of Southern politicians has laboured to accomplish this legislation with the avowed object of taking slavery into Nebraska, and yet Gen. Cass pretends that his object, and that of his associates in the Senate, was to prevent the further extension of slavery! With an impudence and effrontery only equalled by the presumptuous sophistries with which the Nebraska villany has been urged upon Northern people, Cass, Douglas & Co. assume all the preventive steps which the opponents of their scheme have been obliged to resort to to prevent its otherwise inevitable effects, as a part of their thunder, the very thing they had in view in proposing the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. When, after the introduction of the bill into the Senate, last Spring, press and forum and pulpit broke out in eloquent protest against it, these arrant trickesters began to exclaim, "*There! you see how useless was this 'inviduous geographical line.'*" When Northern Abolitionists raised a fund and equipped a little army of emigrants to confront upon the spot the pro-slavery machinations of Atchison and Pierce, all the Nebraska organs and orators, with all the honesty of Mephistophiles in their faces, avowed that *they had always believed the whole question of slavery was perfectly safe with the people of the Territories!* All this is just as plausible as it would be for an incendiary, who had thrown a lighted match, at midnight, into a barrel of shavings in his neighbour's house, to vindicate his good intentions by saying: "I have no doubt that this man's brother, who lives a half mile off, will wake up, and see the blaze, and come over here and put this fire out, before the first child's hair is singed."

Rev. T. W. Higginson and Martin Stowell, of Worcester, have been accorded the honour of an indictment in the United States District Court, at Boston, upon the charge of attempting the rescue

CONGRESS.

This body assembled on Monday. Mr. Atchison having resigned the See of President of the Senate, Mr. Bright, of Indiana, was chosen in his place. (This appointent is understood to be very distasteful to Resident Pierce.) In the House, on Tuesday, a Know-Nothing crusade was announced, the object of which is to modify or repeal the naturalization laws, to keep the mass of foreign birth out of the army and navy, and to prevent the immigrath of foreign paupers. Mr. Sollers, of Maryland, produced a resolution calling upon the President for information as to the Ostend Diplomatic Conference. Mr. S. disclaimed any intention of striking at the Administration in its present weakness or helplessness; though he loved it not, he was all of compassion. But curiosity was strong to over the country to know what the Ostend Conference was for. Everybody wanted light, and the information was necessary to the fine tuning of the watch-spring. At present, it is not to be denied that Christians are imperatively commanded to assemble for the purpose of teaching and exhortation, in reference to the truth of the Gospel; and that, in fact, they did so assemble for this holy purpose and for the observance of other Christian ordinances; and that the time appointed for such duty was "the first day of the week (Heb. 10: 25; Acts 2: 42; 1st Cor., 14 chap.: 11, 2; Acts 20: 7). It is also evident that the Christians observed this day especially for worship, and assembled for the purpose of hearing the glorious Gospel of Christ, in its opposite to light, or sin and God as darkness in the world, and for the purpose of making it known practicleuse, if I should meet on the first day of the week, unable dying an anti-slavery lecture, I should consider to hear lletion of my duty. The duties connected the first day of the week, according to the Scriptures quoted, are enjoined on *all* Christians, unless circumstances render an observance of them impracticable.

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census has yet been taken to serve as a basis of representation, and that there is no fit place in which to hold a legislative session. This has greatly disappointed and offended the pro-slavery party, who fear that the postponement will lead to their defeat. They denounce the Governor in the severest terms. The slaveholders will not yield without a desperate struggle, and we shall not be surprised if they win a victory. These efforts to prevent the *extension* of slavery, by men who propose not to molest it where it already exists, must end in disappointment. The doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders"—no *toleration* of slavery *anywhere*—is only our hope of salvation; and the sooner the North is brought to this conviction, the better will it be for her and for the cause of freedom.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CLVIII.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent on Thanksgiving—He is sociable and blasphemous—Defends the Constitution—And yet is just—He tells of the Election and the devouring oil all the parties—He Speaks well of Mr. Speight's qualities —He shrewdly is a type the differing malignity of Abolition attacks—Satyr publishes—Prophesies of Webster's cause of Thanksgiving—His rhetorical relations great and future with Judge Curtis—The opinion of the Atlas—The Correspondent enlightenseth it—He speaketh well of the new Editor thereof, &c., &c., &c.

BOSTON, Dec. 4, 1854.

WELL, Thanksgiving is over and gone for this year. It is a good old Puritan festival, and one that should be kept up. We have some things left to be thankful for, in spite of the dirty machine worked by Cat-o'-Nine-Tails Power, which we call the United States Government. The principal thing we have to be thankful for, as to that, is, that it is so little felt by those of us who live in remote States, in our common life. It is only when there is a great flaunt of the lash, with a view for game, that we are called upon by the whippers-in to join the pack and help pull him down, that we feel how utterly our manhood is crushed under the wheels of that nasty Juggernaut. To be sure, it does steal from us part of the value of almost everything we buy in the markets, to support its own wickedness; but, that is managed so as to keep its pickers and stealers out of sight; and as the Government only picks our pockets, instead of clapping a pistol to our breasts, telling us to stand and deliver, we don't much mind it, as a mind. It is always present, to be sure; but, like other devils, it is generally invisible. As far as the United States Government has any force, it is the worst in the world. Let us be thankful that it has no more than it has, and that, just now, before Judge Curtis has succeeded in gagging us, we can say what we like about it. Even the most despotic Governments cannot rob their subjects of the privilege of hating them. That is so grateful that we may be sure the added relief of cursing ours, and that openly. And here ends my Thanksgiving Discourse.

I wrote you last on the very day of our State Election. Though "I foresaw," like Sir Robert Bramble, in the play, the general result, even my prescience did not take in its astonishing particulars. The Know-Nothing candidate, a man almost unknown out of his street or his Ward a month before, elected by more than Thirty Thousand clear majority, and by Fifty Thousand more than Governor Washburn, the Whig candidate! And the Whig and Democratic parties absolutely annihilated and wiped out, as with a wet Sponge! The Whigs had refused any union with the Free Soilers and such Democrats as were against the Nebraska Swindle, believing themselves strong enough to keep possession of what small Spoils Massachusetts had to distribute, the State Officers and the Senator and the Eleven Members of Congress. All six weeks ago there seemed to be no apparent reason why they might not succeed. And, once they have never claimed more than six representatives in our General Court; and that half-dozen has, I believe, been ciphered down to *One*, giving one Whig, one Democrat and one Free Soiler to tell the story! For the Free Soilers have been devoured up even like unto their adversaries and have gone to feed fat the new Party. But, inasmuch as their own Candidate for Governor officiated as Carver *in Chief*, and as many of its leading wags rave about with sparrow on each shoulder over their arms, serving up the *disjecta membra*, or slices, as fast as they could be cut off, it is not so much to be wondered at. I believe neither Gov. Washburn nor Judge Bishop (the Democratic candidate) volunteered this service for their followers.

Don't you think, in view of this magnificent ending of the Free Soil Party in this State, that we Garrisonians made a fatal mistake in refusing to join them? I always have thought so. I voted for the satisfaction of choosing a Webster Whig of 1850–1 Governor, and, probably, of reelecting Doctor Smith, who, with his Apothecary, General Edmands, saved the Union last Spring, by his heroic practice, as Mayor! To be sure, his practice was pronounced, as that of an ingenious class of practitioners with whom his unfriends have sometimes ranked him has been before, to have been illegal, by competent judicial authority; but that only enhanced the degree of his merit, by his readiness to sacrifice the laws of the State and the lives of his constituents (as Dr. Dewey, his son or brother, if not his mother), that the Union might be saved by the offering up of poor Burns. One cannot help respecting a man as he deserves, and, I should think, the Free Soilers who are assimilating into the substance of the new party, after their comfortable deglutition, would certainly feel as if they could be so proud of it as the *Almanach des Gourmands* says the Strasburgh geese are, after roasting alive at a slow fire, at the thoughts of the Perigord pies their livers are to make. All this on the supposition that the new party does nominate Dr. Smith for reelection, as it is said they mean to do. If they do, it will be meant, and so understood, as a public proclamation that the Know-Nothings have no taint of Anti-Slavery about them, not even the mild-gated Free Soil type, which is to Garrisonianism what Varioloid is to the Confluent Small Pox. They are determined to let it be seen and known of all men, that they are only infected with the *Paddyphobia*, a very prevalent complaint, but believed by the best doctors to be merely cutaneous. Isn't it curious to see how, the moment a party thinks it has a chance at the Presidency, it begins to assure the Slaveholders that they are to be depended on?

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Some of the Whig papers have been expressing their sense of the folly of this proceeding on the part of Judge Curtis and Attorney Hallett, in view of its uselessness. I confess I was surprised to see any wonder expressed by the *Atlas*, which has had an infusion of new blood lately, and is one of the spiciest papers now going, on this subject. If the *Atlas* really can see no reason why these patriotic men should thus wish to signalize their devotion to their country, we would intimate to it that there is an office under our glorious Constitution called the Chief Justiceship, and, moreover, that the incumbent thereof is well stricken in years, and like soon to do one of those rarest of things—die or resign. It is the natural object of ambition of every aspiring lawyer, and especially to one that already has the vantage ground of the Bench. There is but one power that decides these great judicial appointments, and that power must be coaxed and gamed over. It is very true that Judge Curtis is too able a man ever to be trusted in that place, and that the Slaveholders would sooner appoint Mr. Hallett than him. Not that this last worthy looks in that direction, for there are a greater plenty of dirty puddings for such dogs as he (not scornful in the least) at Washington than in Boston. We pray the *Atlas* to put on its spectacles—though we think there are things that might be seen with the naked eye. The new editor of the *Atlas* is the Mr. Congdon, of New Bedford, of whom I had lately to complain because of his assaults on my *protégé* Commissioner Curtis. Notwithstanding this grudge, I must own that he has improved the *Atlas* very much by the freshness, wit and spirit he has put into the concern. B. V.

From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

The Grape culture in the West—First attempts at Vevay—The Germans in Missouri—Success of N. Longworth's Establishment—Quality of the wine—Its durability —Growth and prosperity of this traffic.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 1, 1854.

THE cultivation of the grape and the manufacture of wine in the West, especially near the shores of the Ohio River, has become a business of some magnitude and importance. Cincinnati and its immediate vicinity has taken the precedence in the grape culture, a fact which must be attributed to the attention bestowed upon it by several active members of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society, but especially to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. N. Longworth, who, after a series of careful experiments, and some sacrifices, ascertained the Catawba grape to be the kind best united to our soil and climate. Mr. R. Buchanan, Mr. V. H. Yeatman, Messrs. Bogen, Corneau & Son, and others, have also been engaged in the grape culture for several years, and the result is, the business has reached a point of importance and interest that will soon place the culture beyond a doubt. It is always present, to be sure; but, like other devils, it is generally invisible. As far as the United States Government has any force, it is the worst in the world. Let us be thankful that it has no more than it has, and that, just now, before Judge Curtis has succeeded in gagging us, we can say what we like about it. Even the most despotic Governments cannot rob their subjects of the privilege of hating them. That is so grateful that we may be sure the added relief of cursing ours, and that openly. And here ends my Thanksgiving Discourse.

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The Grape culture in the West—First attempts at Vevay—The Germans in Missouri—Success of N. Longworth's Establishment—Quality of the wine—Its durability —Growth and prosperity of this traffic.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 1, 1854.

THE cultivation of the grape and the manufacture of wine in the West, especially near the shores of the Ohio River, has become a business of some magnitude and importance. Cincinnati and its immediate vicinity has taken the precedence in the grape culture, a fact which must be attributed to the attention bestowed upon it by several active members of the Cincinnati Horticultural Society, but especially to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. N. Longworth, who, after a series of careful experiments, and some sacrifices, ascertained the Catawba grape to be the kind best united to our soil and climate. Mr. R. Buchanan, Mr. V. H. Yeatman, Messrs. Bogen, Corneau & Son, and others, have also been engaged in the grape culture for several years, and the result is, the business has reached a point of importance and interest that will soon place the culture beyond a doubt. It is always present, to be sure; but, like other devils, it is generally invisible. As far as the United States Government has any force, it is the worst in the world. Let us be thankful that it has no more than it has, and that, just now, before Judge Curtis has succeeded in gagging us, we can say what we like about it. Even the most despotic Governments cannot rob their subjects of the privilege of hating them. That is so grateful that we may be sure the added relief of cursing ours, and that openly. And here ends my Thanksgiving Discourse.

I wrote you last on the very day of our State Election. Though "I foresaw," like Sir Robert Bramble, in the play, the general result, even my prescience did not take in its astonishing particulars. The Know-Nothing candidate, a man almost unknown out of his street or his Ward a month before, elected by more than Thirty Thousand clear majority, and by Fifty Thousand more than Governor Washburn, the Whig candidate! And the Whig and Democratic parties absolutely annihilated and wiped out, as with a wet Sponge! The Whigs had refused any union with the Free Soilers and such Democrats as were against the Nebraska Swindle, believing themselves strong enough to keep possession of what small Spoils Massachusetts had to distribute, the State Officers and the Senator and the Eleven Members of Congress. All six weeks ago there seemed to be no apparent reason why they might not succeed. And, once they have never claimed more than six representatives in our General Court; and that half-dozen has, I believe, been ciphered down to *One*, giving one Whig, one Democrat and one Free Soiler to tell the story! For the Free Soilers have been devoured up even like unto their adversaries and have gone to feed fat the new Party. But, inasmuch as their own Candidate for Governor officiated as Carver *in Chief*, and as many of its leading wags rave about with sparrow on each shoulder over their arms, serving up the *disjecta membra*, or slices, as fast as they could be cut off, it is not so much to be wondered at. I believe neither Gov. Washburn nor Judge Bishop (the Democratic candidate) volunteered this service for their followers.

Don't you think, in view of this magnificent ending of the Free Soil Party in this State, that we Garrisonians made a fatal mistake in refusing to join them? I always have thought so. I voted for the satisfaction of choosing a Webster Whig of 1850–1 Governor, and, probably, of reelecting Doctor Smith, who, with his Apothecary, General Edmands, saved the Union last Spring, by his heroic practice, as Mayor! To be sure, his practice was pronounced, as that of an ingenious class of practitioners with whom his unfriends have sometimes ranked him has been before, to have been illegal, by competent judicial authority; but that only enhanced the degree of his merit, by his readiness to sacrifice the laws of the State and the lives of his constituents (as Dr. Dewey, his son or brother, if not his mother), that the Union might be saved by the offering up of poor Burns. One cannot help respecting a man as he deserves, and, I should think, the Free Soilers who are assimilating into the substance of the new party, after their comfortable deglutition, would certainly feel as if they could be so proud of it as the *Almanach des Gourmands* says the Strasburgh geese are, after roasting alive at a slow fire, at the thoughts of the Perigord pies their livers are to make. All this on the supposition that the new party does nominate Dr. Smith for reelection, as it is said they mean to do. If they do, it will be meant, and so understood, as a public proclamation that the Know-Nothings have no taint of Anti-Slavery about them, not even the mild-gated Free Soil type, which is to Garrisonianism what Varioloid is to the Confluent Small Pox. They are determined to let it be seen and known of all men, that they are only infected with the *Paddyphobia*, a very prevalent complaint, but believed by the best doctors to be merely cutaneous. Isn't it curious to see how, the moment a party thinks it has a chance at the Presidency, it begins to assure the Slaveholders that they are to be depended on?

While on the subject of Thanksgivings, I forgot to mention, though you have seen it often enough, the new cause of gratitude the Rev. Theodore Parker had to acknowledge on that day of praise. He duly returned thanks for the blessing of his arrest and indictment for his Faneuil Hall Speech. I suppose he could hardly have taken Paul's words for a text, "I would ye were even as I am, except these bonds"; for I suppose he would have been equally thankful for any of his congregation who had been put under the same bonds with himself. Should any such good luck befall any of them (which, it is said, is not impossible), they should put up a Note the next Sunday, as their parents did on an important event in their own early lives, and "return thanks for Mercies Received." When the case comes on for trial, Mr. Justice Curtis will probably have to hear what Mr. Parker has to say for himself—which he declined doing at the famous Compromise Meeting in Faneuil Hall, when he read his title clear to his place on the Bench. You remember, he stated, with a commendable modesty, that Mr. Parker had said, and asked, "I should like to know what the Reverend Gentleman would have to say to this!" The Reverend gentleman hereupon arose in the gallery and asked "if Mr. Curtis would like to hear what he had to say then?" Nothing could be further from his wishes, if the lines of his face spoke the truth, and Mr. Parker was hooted down. I supprehend that, this time, Judge Curtis will have to hear what he has to say.

Some of the Whig papers have been expressing their sense of the folly of this proceeding on the

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 4, 1854.

"AN administration, after all, must be judged by its works, not by the passion of the hour, or the peculiar new issues introduced at a popular election." Just so. The sentence I have quoted is the last from the latest letter of that "Observer" who favours the *Public Ledger* of this city with his nightly lucubrations. Personal histories are interesting. This individual is literally a Swiss, who, a few years ago, presented himself to a distinguished anti-slavery merchant of this city, offering his services for the sustentation of the "peculiar new issue" which you advocate—for a consideration, of course—and meeting with a refusal, entered his present more congenial sphere of action, where he is, no doubt, better paid in the coin he prefers than he ever could have been in the service of the Abolitionists.

Now, I, for one, am quite content to judge the administration by its works, especially those which have become so unequivocally characteristic of it as the employment of foreign renegades to do its dirty work. The present minister to the two Sicilies is another example in point: a Scotchman, who commenced his career in this country, some years ago, as the special champion of the oppressed negro, and ended it much in the line of life that he did, at that time, include the slave in the list. Shortly after his election by "the Democratic party" of Indiana to a seat in the House of Representatives, I had occasion to forward to him, for presentation, several petitions, including one for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These he refused even to present, and handed them over to Mr. Giddings. But a few years before, he had been employing his leisure hours in writing out, for publication, the oral narratives of a friend of his, who had, from the beginning, been closely connected with the underground railway; which narratives, I remember, he used to listen to with the utmost interest, frequently manifesting a sympathy perfectly enthusiastic with any adroit and successful effort to baffle the slave-hunter. Nothing could be more convincing proof that slavery has completely got the upper hand among us than such facts as these, dozens of which have occurred within the sphere of almost any one's observation. These people would, no doubt, be as willing to labour for an honourable cause as for one of an opposite character, if it could be made their interest to do so.

I spoke, in a recent letter, of the singular propensity to blowing hot and cold with the same breath, which the *Ledger* has lately displayed. In this morning's issue of that journal, I notice an editorial item in reference to the late sermon of Rev. Theodore Parker. Speaking of this gentleman's declaration that he considered the indictment the greatest honour ever conferred upon him by his fellow-men, the paragraphist makes this very American commentary: "A conviction might alter his opinion of the honour intended in the indictment of him." There are evidently two brains at work for the *Ledger*.

Our city papers have, quite generally, I believe, done justice to the fact, in publishing a letter from the author of the Declaration of Independence to "his daughter," apparently quite oblivious of the very valuable historical fact that he had *more* than one. Could you not find time to add to our current literature some account of that one who was publicly sold on the auction-stand at New Orleans, a few years ago? The information concerning the former proved highly interesting and valuable; perhaps a contribution from your pen of the nature I propose would also contribute to the delectation of the body, and might be quite a feather in your cap.

Judge Wilmot and his friends have recently given the initiatory to the formation of a "Republican Party"—did you ever hear anything like it? —just as if every party in the country were not a republican party. The meeting at which this very significant and portentous step was taken was held somewhere in Susquehanna County—the papers don't name the locality—and the delegates had the grace to pass, by an unanimous vote, the following resolution (among others), which heaven grant them back-bone to stand by:

"Resolved, That the principles upon which we stand are, first and primarily, decided, unswerving, and uncompromising hostility to slave extension, in whatever guise it may be presented. 2d. A modification or repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, so that full and entire preservation shall be given to the rights of the citizens of the Free States."

Things really do begin to look a little encouraging; but, then, we Abolitionists have so often experienced the vanity of all promises of better conduct on the part of that large class who are known by the name of "statesmen," that it is not surprising we should wait for *deeds* before pronouncing a decided opinion concerning movements of this kind. But the prospect is certainly better at this juncture than ever it was before; the tone of many of the local journals is decidedly higher than it has been during any previous compaign, and the Republican Party, supported by such newspapers as the *Independent Whig* at Lancaster, the *Herald* at Westchester, etc., etc., ought surely to accomplish something worthy of a party bearing the name.

POLITICS.

We believe the friends of Hon. William H. Seward feel pretty sure that he will be reelected to the U. S. Senate, but his opponents will make a desperate fight, and we shall not be surprised if they succeed.

—It is stated that the friends of Thomas H. Benton have offered to unite with the Whigs to secure the defeat of Atchison, who wants to be reelected to the U. S. Senate. Atchison's friends procured Benton's defeat by the same means, not long since; hence the effort to retaliate.

—Myron H. Clark's plurality for Governor, though not yet officially declared by the State canvassers, is ascertained, from the official returns of the several Counties, to be 319. If all the defective ballots are allowed, the result will not be changed. If the Maine Law can be carried through the Legislature, it will be sure, therefore, of executive approval.

—Hon: Henry A. Wise has, after a severe struggle, been nominated as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Virginia. He is the favourite of the *young* Democracy of that State, who are making an effort to free themselves from the shackles of the tyranny which has so long ruled that State. It is doubtful, however, if he can be elected, as the Whigs and the Know-Nothings are expected to strike hands in opposing him.

—Among the prominent candidates for the United States Senate in Pennsylvania (to succeed Cooper) is the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, late member of Congress from the Lancaster District. Intellectually he has few superiors in the State, while on the Slavery question he would stand on the same platform with Seward. We do not know how good are his chances of an election, but, as he has many enemies who are bitter as his friends are devoted, we are afraid he can't secure the requisite number of votes.

—Dr. J. V. C. Smith, present Mayor of Boston, has been nominated by the Know-Nothings for reelection. We think this ought to solve all doubts as to the real character and designs of that secret cabal, so far at least as Boston is concerned. The course pursued by Dr. Smith in the Rendition of Anthony Burns showed him to be a weak and unprincipled man; and if Boston shall reflect him, she will thereby renewedly endorse the Fugitive Slave law and cover herself afresh with disgrace and infamy.

—The result of the Illinois Congressional election is truly gratifying. Three of the Anti-Nebraska Congressmen are reelected, with three more of the same stripe, while but one Nebraskaite (Col. W. A. Richardson) is reelected, who will be associated with two others. It has been said that Col. Richardson by who was made to father the Nebraska abomination in the House) has been rechosen, in spite of the Nebraska hill, by the support he has given to river and harbour appropriations, while Douglas has opposed this great Western measure. The election of an Anti-Nebraska U. S. Senator is hardly doubtful.

—Hon. Henry Wilson is believed to have a good chance to be made a U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. Edward Everett. No bitterer pill than this could be administered to the Whigs, who have never forgiven him for leaving their party in 1848, and for getting up the Coalition by which their long supremacy in the State was effectually broken. There is some talk of putting forward, as a candidate against Mr. Wilson, the Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks, a Democratic member of Congress from this State. But the Whigs would be willing to vote in order to secure the defeat of the man they so cordially hate. Mr. Wilson, if elected, will no doubt stand side by side with Mr. Sumner on all questions relating to slavery.

SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE following table is from De Bow's Appendix to the last U. S. Census. It will be seen that the whole number of slaveholders in the United States is 347,525. Now, if we could only obtain a census of those who *ought* to be slaveholders, we should have a basis for some curious calculations.

CLASSIFICATION OF SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

STATES.	Holders of 1 slave.	2 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 20.	20 and under 50.	50 and under 100.	100 and under 200.	200 and under 500.	300 and under 500.	500 and under 1000.	1,000 and under.	Aggregate holders of slaves.
Alabama	3,894	5,911	4,363	3,230	1,811	1,000	307	87		19	2	20,524
Arkansas	1,713	2,400	1,555	1,000	511	211	61	15		2		7,465
Delaware	587	587	309	171	61	15	2					1,798
Florida	1,131	1,400	1,000	600	300	100	30	8		1		4,766
Georgia	4,486	6,713	5,000	3,500	1,800	1,000	300	100		20	3	22,931
Kentucky	5,169	7,000	5,000	3,000	1,500	800	200	50		10	1	22,730
Louisiana	2,357	3,500	2,500	1,800	1,000	500	200	50		10	2	11,919
Maryland	1,763	2,000	1,500	1,000	500	200	50	10		2		7,025
Mississippi	3,500	5,000	4,000	3,000	1,500	800	200	50		10	2	18,052
Missouri	3,500	5,000	4,000	3,000	1,500	800	200	50		10	2	18,052
North Carolina	5,169	7,000	5,000	3,000	1,500	800	200	50		10	1	22,730
South Carolina	3,500	5,000	4,000	3,000	1,500	800	200	50		10	2	18,052
Tennessee	5,169	7,000	5,000	3,000	1,500	800	200	50		10	1	22,730
Texas	1,131	1,400	1,000	600	300	100	30	8		1		4,766
Virginia	5,169	7,000	5,000	3,000	1,500	800	200	50		10	1	22,730
	49,087	68,820	50,022	34,901	17,291	8,915	2,479	706		134	20	232,189

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5 and under 10.

10 and under 20.

20 and under 50.

50 and under 100.

100 and under 200.

200 and under 500.

300 and under 500.

500 and under 1000.

1,000 and under.

Aggregate holders of slaves.

REV. SAMUEL R. WARD.—We are not sure that we have informed ourreaders of the fact that this gentleman was so farcaught napping as to yield to a request to secondresolutions, before the Congregational Union of England, in support of the Eastern Missions of the American Board. A correspondent of the *Liberator* having commented indignantly upon this act of Mr. Ward, Mr. Chesson, the English correspondent of the *Watchman*, notices the matter as follows:

"No doubt Mr. Ward took a false step, and I should be one of the last persons to justify him in it. Knowing something of the circumstances connected with his appointment, the resolution in question, I cannot but attribute his doing so rather to a momentary error of judgment than to any deliberate intention. The American Board. Since he has been in this country, Ward has done not a little to enlighten the British Churches as to the corrupt state of the great religious organisation of your country; and I think that the recollection of this good which he has accomplished should blot out the remembrance of the one act that is, I must admit, very properly condemned. When a man retraces a false step, his error ought to be forgiven him. This, Ward has done. In a letter from him which recently appeared in the *Morning Advertiser*, he speaks the truth faithfully about the American Board. His original mistake ought now to be forgotten."

THE *Bradford* (Vt.) *Inquirer*, heretofore under pro-slavery guidance, has passed into the hands of O. A. Bows, a genuine son of the Green Mountains, who, after honourable service in the editorial profession in Herkimer Co., N. Y., and elsewhere, has returned to go back to his native State, where we hope he will meet with the success due to his talents, experience and devotion to the cause of liberty. The *Inquirer* will support the Republican party, which, in Vermont, appears to have superseded the Whig organization, and to embrace nearly all the anti-slavery voters. This is not the type of anti-slavery which we deem orthodox, but it is a decided improvement on Silver Gray Whiggery, and may grow better in time.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN proposes to deliver three Lectures, in St. Thomas's Church, Philadelphia, upon topics suggested by his residence in Europe, and which are particularly set forth in the advertisement, in another column, to which we would direct the particular attention of our readers in that city. Mr. Brown is no doubt possessed of much valuable information relating to those topics, and, as he is a pleasing and forcible speaker, he cannot fail to make his lectures interesting to such as may be able to hear them. We hope he may have full houses, and that he may be invited to give the same lectures in other places.

Summary.

"I cannot bear children," said Mrs. Prim, disdainfully. Mrs. Partington looked over her spectacles mildly for answer. "Perhaps if you could, you would like them better."

Speaking of Ida May, the Springfield *Republican* says: "By the way, we know who the authress is, but we promised not to tell. We rather think she was not born in Maine, or more than 20 miles from Springfield."

FROM LIQUOR TO LITERATURE.—"In the Texas market," says a correspondent, "the demand has suddenly changed from *Liquor* to *Literature*. Public Libraries are the rage. Instead of the place of Grog Shops and Billiard Saloons in this new and prosperous State, Athenæums are to be found."

PRICES OF NEGROES.—We learn from a gentleman who was present that, at the estate sale of Nathaniel Hough, deceased, on the 14th inst., the negroes, men, women and children, were fine, being an average of $620. One fellow brought $1,010, one $1,005, and the balance, men, women and two children, $1,785.—*Lancaster (S. C.) Ledger.*

REASON FOR NOT DANCING.—At the close of a fair held by the Free Will Baptist Society in Manchester, N. H., Rev. Dr. Burbank, the pastor, Rev. Mr. Davis, was asked whether dancing would be allowed. In answer to the question he said he did not good, it was a barbarous custom, and the first Baptist of wh

Miscellaneous Department.

MR. BRIGHT, M.P., AND THE WAR.

The following correspondence has been handed to us [*Manchester Examiner*] for publication :

MANCHESTER, October 27, 1854.

DEAR SIR : In the few words which I exchanged with you in the street, at short time ago, you declared the present war to be one of the wickedest things that this country had ever engaged in. I believe these were your words, or, at least, to that effect. Now, as I have a desire to inquire for your *well-considered* opinion, and as I have come to a very opposite conclusion, your dictum sent me to such books as I possess on the law of nations, especially to "Vattell" ; and, to my astonishment, I found that more than a quarter of a century ago I had consulted his pages as to the justice or otherwise of the *first crusade*. My reading has confirmed my opinion ; and I shall be present at the meet next Thursday, to commence a subscription for the widows and orphans of those who fall in the contest, and as the members for Manchester *ought* to be chief, I shall be accordingly pleased if you will then state the *conclusive reasons* for your condemnation of the war, and enable us to determine either to give it our hearty support or *then and there* to exercise our right of PEACE.

Believe me to be, with esteem and respect, yours truly,

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P. ABSALOM WATKIN.

RIVIL, North Wales, Oct. 20, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR : I think, on further consideration, you will perceive that the letter I wrote you day next would be a most improper occasion for a discussion as to the justice of the war. Just or unjust, the war is a fact, and the men whose lives are manifestly thrown away in the struggle have a claim upon the country, and especially upon those who, by the expression of opinions favourable to the war, have made themselves responsible for it. I cannot, therefore, for a moment, appear to discourage the liberality of those who believe the war to be just, and whose utmost generosity, in my opinion, will but make a wretched return for *then and there* to exercise our right of PEACE.

families.

With regard to the war itself, I am not surprised at the difference between your opinion and mine, I therefore, for a moment, appeal from it to appeal to "Vattell." The "law of nations" is not my law, and, at best, it is a code full of confusion and contradictions, leaving its foundation on custom, and not on a higher morality ; and a custom which has always been determined by the will of the strongest. It may be a question of some interest whether the first crusade was just, and in accordance with the law and principle of "Vattell" ; but whether the first crusade was just, and whether the pollers of the crusaders was a wise policy, is a totally different question. I have no doubt that the American war was a just war according to the principles laid down by writers on the "law of nations," and yet no man in his senses in this country will now care to defend the policy of George III. towards the American colonies was a wise policy, or that war a righteous war. The French war, too, was doubtless just according to the same authorities ; but the policy of wars, and anticipated dangers to be combatted, and law and order to be sustained in Europe ; and yet few intelligent men now believe the French war to have been either necessary or just. You must excuse me if I refuse altogether to pin my faith upon "Vattell." There have been writers on international law who have attempted to show that private assassination and the practice of wool were justifiable in war ; and perhaps it would be difficult to demonstrate wherein these horrors differ from some of the practices which are now in vogue. I will not ask you to form your opinion on these points by such writers, nor shall I submit my judgment to that of "Vattell."

The question of this present war is in two parts. First, was it necessary for us to go to war by arms in a dispute between the Russians and the Turks ? and secondly, having determined to interfere, under certain circumstances, why was not the whole question treated when Russia accepted the Vienna note ? The seat of war is 3,000 miles away from us. We had not been attacked—not even insulted in any way. Two independent governments had got into a dispute, and we thrust ourselves into the quarrel. That there was some ground for the dispute is admitted by the four powers in the proposition of the Vienna note. But for the English ministers at Constantinople, and the cabinet at home, the dispute would have been settled itself, and the last note of Prince Menschikoff would have been accepted ; and no human being can point out any real existing difference between that note and the Vienna note, afterwards agreed upon and recommended by the governments of England, France, Austria and Prussia. But our government would not allow the dispute to be settled. *Lord Stratford de Redcliffe* held private interviews with the Sultan, did *his* utmost to alarm him, insisted on his rejection of all terms of accommodation with Russia, and determined that the armed assistance of England if war should arise.

The Turks rejected the Russian note, and the Russians crossed the Pruth, occupying the Principalities as a "material guarantee." I do not defend this act of Russia ; it has always appeared to me impolitic and immoral ; but I think Hilary in could so well defended out of "Vattell," and it is at least as justifiable as the conduct of *Lord* John Russell and Lord Palmerston in 1850, when they sent a twelve ships of war to the Tagus, commencing the town with a bombardment if the dishonest pecuniary claim made by Don Pacifico were not at once satisfied.

But the Czar of the Pruth was declared by England and France and Turkey not to be a *casus belli*. Negotiations were commenced at Vienna, and the celebrated Vienna note was drawn up. This note had its origin in Paris and London, and pronounced by all these authorities to be such as would satisfy the honour of Russia, and, at the same time, be compatible with the "independence and integrity" of Turkey, and the honour of the Sultan. Russia accepted this note at once—accepted it, I believe, by telegraph, even before the precise words of it had been received in St. Petersburg. Everybody thought the question now settled—a cabinet minister assured me we should never hear another word about it—" the whole thing is at an end," he said, and it appeared for a moment as if the Turk refused the note which had been drawn up by his own arbitrators, and which Russia had accepted. And what did the ministers say then, and what their organ, the *Times*, says now ? They said it was merely a objection about words ; it was a pity the Turk made any difficulty, but it would soon be settled. But it was not settled, and why will it be ? It is said that the British government put an improper construction on the Vienna note. But it is unfortunate for those who say this, that the Turk placed precisely the same construction upon it ; and, further, it is on record that the French government advised the Russian government to accept it on the ground that "its general sense differed in nothing from the sense of the proposals of Prince Menschikoff." It is, however, easy to see why the Russian government should, when the Turks refused the award of their own arbitrators, restate its original claim, that it might not be damaged by the concessions which had made in accepting the award ; and this is evidently the explanation of the document issued by Nesselrode, and about which so much has been said. But, after this, the Turks refused the Russia spoke to Lord Westmoreland on the subject, at Olmutz, and expressed his readiness to accept the Vienna note, with the addition that the conference might add to it, explaining and restricting its meaning ; and he urged that this should be done at once, as he was anxious that his troops should re-cross the Pruth before winter. It was this very week that the Turks summoned a grand council, and, contrary to the advice of England and France, determined on a declaration of war.

Now, observe the course taken by our government. They agreed to the Vienna note ; not fewer than five members of this cabinet have filled the office of Foreign Secretary ; and, therefore, may be supposed capable of comprehending its meaning ; it was a note drawn up by the friends of Turkey, and by arbitrators self-constituted on behalf of Turkey ; they urged it upon the acceptance of the Russian government, and the Russian government accepted it ; there was then a dispute about its precise meaning, and Russia agreed, and even proposed, that the arbitrators at Vienna should ascend it, by explaining it, and limiting its meaning, so that no question of its intention should henceforth arise. But the Turks having rejected it, our government, as I understand, declared the Vienna note, *their own note*, entirely inadmissible, and defended the conduct of the Turks in having rejected it. The Russians ordered war, against the advice of the English and French governments—so, at least, it appears from the Blue Books ; but the moment war was declared by Turkey, our government openly applauded it, England, then, was committed to the war. She had promised armed assistance to Turkey, a country without government, and whose administration was at the mercy of contending factions ; and, in such thing as a peek sermon in the Greek church on language, and then to the church—viz., in the private houses of the American missionaries—Greek discourses were delivered regularly on Sundays. The absence of this element in the worship of the Greeks evidently still adds a very low grade of intellectual culture on the part of their priests, and places them far beneath the learned and rhetorical apostles of the Pope, whom they are accustomed to hear. These unfavourable, yet, by no means, however, are only the necessary result of ages of barbarism and neglect ; and when we come to look a little more narrowly into the matter, we discover that the whole kind of the present weakness and abundance of more ceremonial form, the church of Greece is in principle considerably less corrupt, and far more open to amelioration than that in the West. The papacy, in its gigantic attempt doctrines or practices of that church, we begin to discover, that by some influence or other the error in the East seems to have stopped half way, while that in the West has gone on growing and wrought up to a point of thoroughly self-consistent falsity. Even the puerile quibble of their church logic which separates painted pictures, but not graven images, from the worship due to God, and the venal tinkling of sacerdotal gold in the indulgence box they are free. But the fundamental distinction between the two churches lies in this—that the papacy, in the person of the Czar, did never grow up into that portentous excess which over-rode the West—a greater amount of ecclesiastical and individual freedom remained. It is true that the Greek church was cut off at once from the prolonged continuance of the Byzantine empire. The Pope did not begin to rear his head so loftily in Rome till the Emperor was removed ; and in Byzantium the Patriarch was not the emperor, there was not, and there could not be, a Pope. The Greek church, in fact, always has been, what they call in Scotland, Erastian—that is, belonging to, or incorporate with the State, and that in a very high degree. The priests were under the influence of the kings, and the people were, for this very reason, less under the influence of the priests. In proportion as secular corruption was checked by imperial power, those church corruptions which are fostered by sacerdotal pride were stunted in their growth ; the patriarch of Constantinople had less temptation, over the provincial churches, because he was more under the influence of the Court ; and the individual Greek, while cherishing the highest respect for his clergy, became, in Protestant opposition to the feeling of a formidable conspiracy of priests, hedging him round and round with holy terror, and putting every free thought under ban. Among the other causes which have been operating in the Greek church, and the less rigid form of many of its corruptions, we must place also the fact that from its peculiar state of prostration of the nineteenth century, it has not been exposed to encounter and no Lutheran thesis to deny. Had the Greek churchmen been pressed by such vigilant antagonists, they would assuredly have been led to abandon many of their more puerile practices